1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kulkull* could be heard. A *kulkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

overheated and tired, poured some water or *muday* from a jug at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to beat with drumsticks on the *kul'trufi*, and three performers staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers, barefooted and bareheaded, accompanied by two young men moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an informal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they could be spread or brought together by arm movements to suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclockwise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured and postd as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the other, flapping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads, and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist, struck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed loudly in appreciation of his antics.[a]

While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around the entire sacred area.[b] Whenever they came abreast of the altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YA!" At intervals they charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted, bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[a] Manquilef (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[b] Smaller circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (ibid., pp. 180-83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

superb horsemen, and many wore colorful vests or ponchos, the mounted men made a highly picturesque sight. These circuits are called *ewes*.

It was impossible to keep track of the number of times that the ostrich dancers came and went, or of the circuits made by the riders, but when these activities were over a dozen or so men took hockey sticks from the altar and played a short game of *chueca* in which only a single goal was scored. The sticks were then replaced and everyone prepared to eat lunch. These special events, it developed, had been ordered by the *machi*. At the invitation of the Coigue chief, all visiting males, mounted or afoot, then arranged themselves in an informal line parallel to the ramadas. Starting at one end, the cacique and Ramón Chihuailaf, as well as one or two other local residents, went from man to man, shaking hands and exchanging kinship terms or greetings with each visitor. Food was then served to visiting women and children and to a few Coigue people at the shelters, but for a long time most men of the home reservation went back and forth carrying roasted meat and apple *chicha* from their ramadas to friends and kin among the masculine visitors.* Beef, pig, horse, and chicken were roasted on spits over open fires, and no one was allowed to go hungry. Every resident of Coigue sent meat and drink to the *machi*, who lunched at the cacique's ramada. Some wine may have been drunk but I observed only one old man who might have been intoxicated.

Following lunch there was a long rest, after which most groups partook of hard-boiled eggs with mashed chili peppers and cider as a sort of "high tea." During the recess the Coigue chief took up a *kultrun*, and singing in falsetto, gave a lively imitation of the *machi*'s manner of acting. Those in the near-by ramadas who could watch this performance, thoroughly enjoyed his impromptu burlesque.

When the afternoon was well advanced, the celebrants re-

* By Araucanian convention gifts are given to specific individuals. No chicha or refreshment is left by any party if a cup of chicha, for example, is given to one member of a group, who drinks all of it while his companions do without. Those who get more than they can eat carry the surplus home.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche -Huilliche

PLATE I

231
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FIG. 1. Young boy driving an oxcart.

231
241
412
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FIG. 2. Little boys with oxen making a newly plowed field.

[end plate I]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE III

231
291
492

FIG. 1. Backing the caravan into place at Cautinche.

291
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FIG. 2. Reverend Juan Antimo with his wife and five of their children.

[end plate 3]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE VI

492
491

FIG. 1. A journey by oxcart from Cautinche to Malalche. The party is en route to the *küllatun* at Malalche.

509

FIG. 2. The first plane landing at Cholchol. Indians and Chileans nearly obscure the small airplane that marks the end of the "oxcart age."

[end plate 6]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Middle Chile forests, and, owing to the density of the undergrowth, not easily pursued.

The chief large animals hunted for food were the guanaco (*Lama guinicoe*), the huemul or guemal (*Hippocamelus bisulcus*), and the pudu (*Pudu pudu*). Many kinds of birds were taken, such as the tinamou (*Nothoprocta perdicaria*), the bandurria (*Theristicus melanopis*), parrots, doves, ducks, geese, swans, and others.

The puma (*Felis concolor*) was hunted with dogs; when the animal took to the trees, it was shot with arrows; and small dogs were also used in hunting partridges (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 32, 34). The ordinary weapons employed in hunting were the bow and arrow (cf. infra under Warfare for description) and the sling. Later, in the 17th century, the two-balled bolas was introduced as a hunting weapon. Its use is first recorded in Rosales; the bolas was apparently absent earlier (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 43–44).

Snares (huachi, wachi) of several kinds were employed for trapping birds, but no details on construction are given in the early literature. Coña describes a multiple immobile or tether snare (European?): slip nooses of horse-tail hair were suspended from a horizontal line which was stretched between two posts embedded in the ground (Moesbach, 1936, pp. 36–37). Clog-snares, spring-pole and tossing-pole snares, pole- and perch-snares, deadfalls, pitfalls, and trapping nets are not mentioned in our sources, so far as the present writer can discover, and were apparently lacking.

Domesticated animals.—The domesticated animals kept by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* were the dog and the llama. The guinea pig was common in Chile (Ovalle, 1646, 12:91; Olivares, 1864, p. 31; Molina, 1878 b, pp. 474–75; Lenz, 1904–10, 1:220), but whether among the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in particular is not clear. Neither bees nor alpacas were kept. Tamed guanacos were common in the south of the area.

Two kinds of dog are recorded: a small short-legged one, with long hair, the kilthe; and a medium-sized longer-legged one with shorter hair, the thegua (Latcham, 1922 a, pp. 49–63). The dog was used in hunting.

The llama (chillihueque, rehueque, *Lama glama*) was reported from the earliest days of the Conquest as far south as the Ancud region where the ordinary Indian possessed 4 to 8 head and the cacique 12 to 20 (Goicoeta, 1882, p. 93). With the introduction of mules and sheep, native llama breeding declined. Some llamas were still kept toward the end of the 18th century among the *Huilliche* (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 380), but are now no longer kept. The llama was bred chiefly for its wool and as a pack animal. It also served a socioeconomic function in the bride-price, and a religious one in sacrifices. Its

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

meat was highly relished, but was not eaten except at important social or religious feasts.

The horse was adopted very shortly after the middle of the 16th century. Some horses were stolen from Pedro de Valdivia; 10 others were gotten as spoils of war at the defeat of Alvarado in 1555. Lautaro was seen on horseback in 1556. By 1562, the more general use of horses was under way. Thefts of horses thereafter were common. By the beginning of the 17th century, the *Mapuche* were making

FIGURE 71.—A *Mapuche* saddlecloth, saddleblock, and stirrups. (After Smith, 1855, p. 200.)

much use of cavalry in warfare, although many were as yet not such expert riders, and many were thrown from their mounts in actual fighting. Saddles were earlier made of light wood, saddle cushions of wool, stirrups and spurs of wood, bits of wood or whalebone, and reins and headstalls of hide or hemp (González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 114–15). As time went on, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* became accomplished and habitual horsemen, as they are today (McCafferty, 1933, pp. 44–49). The triangular great-toe stirrup (fig. 71) of cane was also used (Smith, 1855, p. 199). The lasso, used with great dexterity by the modern *Araucanians*, was probably introduced and spread

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

with the horse complex; it more probably was not part of pre-Hispanic *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture (McClafferty, 1932, p. 44).

Horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over very early, beginning in the 16th century. The use of the Iberian hamstringer for cattle, a long pole with a crescent-shaped blade on its distal end, was reported by Molina (1878 b, p. 487) for the second third of the 18th century.

Fishing.—Fish and shellfish were important elements in the diet of the mainland *Mapuche-Huilliche* living on or near the Coast, while among the Chiloteans they, with potatoes, constituted most of the food supply. Many kind of fish were taken, such as mullets (*Mugil* sp.), flatfish (*Paralichthys* sp.), porgies (*Sparus* sp.), silversides (*Austromenidia regia*), etc. The chief shellfish eaten were: Sea urchins (*Strongylocentrotus* sp.), crustaceans (*Aegla* sp. and *Paranephrops* sp., and probably also marine crabs of several species), and bivalves (*Mytilus* sp., *Amphidesma* sp., *Tellina* sp., Unionids, and others). Ascidians or sea-squirts (*Pyura*) were sought also for food.

Fish were taken with: Nets of bark, of chupon (*Greigia sphacelata*), and, later, of hemp; pouches and baskets, baited and put under water (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 180); fykes of quila (*Chusquea* sp.); hook (of thorn, bone, or wood) and line; spears, including a three-pronged one; clubs with studded heads; and weirs of branches, used by the Indians of Chiloé (Oliveros, 1874, p. 265). Fish were also taken by poisoning small lagoons or still water in streams with *Drimys winteri* (Febrés, 1882, s. v. rinotin; Houssé, 1939, p. 171). No whale hunting is reported.

Food storage.—Grain and other food were stored in hill caves, on elevated platforms, and in hide sacks; potatoes, in bins within the hut.

Food preparation and cooking.—Cooking was done by the women. Maize was prepared in many ways. Green maize was boiled in earthen pots or roasted over the fire or in hot embers, or it was dried, shelled, roasted in sand, and ground to flour with metate and two-handed cylindrical muller (Ovalle, 1888, 12: 155; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 40–41). Two kinds of flour were made: raw, or rayo; and parched, or mirka. From the first was made a bread, kofke, in the form of flat cakes, or tortillas, baked on sahes, or in pit ovens. A sort of leaven thereby was made from a bit of the grain chewed by the old women and children and left to ferment in water or in a hole in the ground (Latcham, 1909, p. 243 [post-Columbian?]). The parched maize (or wheat) in cold water was regularly taken on arising in the early morning and after meals. A bread was also made of bracken, tree, mango, and leaves. (Cf. supra under Wild Plant Foods, p. 702.)

Meat was preferred lightly cooked. Some bits were eaten raw. Meat was cut in strips and sundried or smoked to make charki, or jerked meat.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

to fasten the ekull. Glass beads, chaquiras, were early imported by the Spaniards, and later displaced the aboriginal llancas. The characteristic large quadrangular metal ear pendants (chapell, tupūl) are clearly recorded as early as the middle of the 17th century (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159); the wheel-shaped ones, still earlier (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 47).

In the 19th century, the number and variety of silver and beaded women's adornments (as described in detail by, e. g., Moesbach, 1936, pp. 213–14, and others)—necklaces, bracelets, anklets, finger rings, ear pendants, brooches, buckles, and so forth—was very great. In general, however, this represents the final phase of a gradual evolution from a much simpler style of women's adornment current at the time of first White contact, an evolution marked by the substitution of glass chaquiras (beads) for the native llancas, by more and more widespread use of silver, and by the luxuriant growth of new forms of both bead and silver "jewelry."

TRANSPORTATION

Land transportation.—There were no roads such as were common in Inca territory, but only trails. Bridges (kuikui) consisted merely of a log or several logs spanning small streams. The tumpline and fiber bag of simple-loop netting technique were used for carrying goods. The llama served as a pack animal; the dog was not so used. Soon after the coming of the Spaniard, the *Mapuche-Huilliche* took to horse riding. (Cf. supra under Domesticated Animals, p. 704).

Water transportation.—Three chief types of watercraft were used by the *Mapuche-Huilliche:* the plank boat, the dugout, and the reed balsa. As Lothrop (1932, p. 253) points out, all three were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern.

Plank boats (dalca, piragua) of 3 planks were found in large number among the *Araucanian*-speaking people of Corcovado Gulf when first encountered by Cortés Hojea in 1558 (Goicueta, 1852, p. 91). Plank boats, while more characteristic of the Chilotans and southern mainland *Huilliche*, were also observed farther north (Ofta, canto 10, 1917, p. 240, mouth of the Bío-Bío River). The planks were lashed together with fiber rope (of *Chusquea* sp.), which does not rot under water, and caulked with leaves of tiaca (*Caldcluvia paniculata*, according to Medina, 1882, p. 193) and inner bark of maqui (*Aristotelia maqui*). They were propelled by about 8 to 12 rowers, a coxswain steering at the stern with a pole or paddle. In a favorable wind, a sail was set up. Up to the end of the 17th century, the dalca was of only 3 planks, but, in the course of the 18th century, it developed into a 5-plank (Olivares, 1874, p. 871) and later a 7-plank craft. (González de Agüero, 1791,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

532
492

PLATE 155.—Araucanian Indians and Araucanian masks. *Top:* Mounted Araucanians. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.) *Bottom:* Modern Mapuche masks. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 29.)

[p. 734 c]

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

important than weapons. As noted above, the Indians never fought in a place that was not of their own choosing if they could avoid it. The horse was their greatest problem and one around which their strategy revolved. They chose battle sites wherein the horse would be difficult to manage; they made use of snares on long poles with which to pull the rider from his horse; they dug pitfalls and trenches, placing sharp stakes upon which rider and mount would be impaled; in all of this their chief aim was to get the Spaniard off his mount.[30]

Through the spoils of war and peacetime thievery the Indians acquired a vast supply of horses. By 1594 it was not uncommon for them to put several hundred horsemen in the field. It is to be noted, however, that they used the horse as an auxiliary rather than as an instrument of war. Riding as far as thirty miles a night they raided settlements and ranches under the cover of darkness, leaving death and destruction in their wake.[31] But acquisition of this new mobility did not alter their basic strategy for fighting Spanish forces. Throughout the sixteenth century they continued to lure Spanish troops into carefully prepared ambuscades, themselves remaining on foot. To have done otherwise would have undone their whole strategy. As the Spanish horsemen approached the main Indian force, their lines of retreat were closed by concentric rings of warriors. If the Spanish were fortunate enough to defeat the enemy they found no difficulty in retracing their steps. If, on the other hand, the Indians proved too strong for them, they could retreat only with great difficulty. Once having forced the Spaniards into retreat, the Indians followed them on foot. When the horses tired sufficiently, their riders could be struck down. A Spanish horseman afoot, because of the weight and bulk

explore or interpret the force behind Araucanian military organization beyond the former of Indian bravery. Another weakness is the author's uncritical use of Pedro Mariño de Lovera's *Crónica del reino de Chile* (CHC, vol. 6). Lovera was another soldier who came to Chile in 1551, served there for a number of years, and then retired to Lima to write a history of Chile. Ostensibly because it was not well written, the manuscript was turned over to a Jesuit, Bartolomé de Escobar for rewriting. As a true courtier, he shifted emphasis to flatter his patron, García Hurtado de Mendoza, and otherwise made liberties which rendered the history worthless. After his revision it was probably retained by Hurtado himself. A copy was subsequently discovered in Spain by Hurtado in unit for royal reward for services rendered. In like vein, Hurtado was cred as publication of Ercilla's *La Araucana*, which he felt slighted his person. In retaliation he commissioned Pedro de Oña to write his dull *Arauco Domado*, an epic in which Hurtado emerged as the conqueror of Arauco. As Núñez remarked, Oña merely made himself a fool in describing Arauco as subdued when in fact Arauco was more victorious and impregnable than ever before (pp. 36-37). See Diego Barros Arana, *Historia jeneral de Chile* (16 vols., Santiago, 1884-1902), vol. 2, pp. 282-288).

33 Schaedel, pp. 44-49, 51, 62-63. John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians" (*Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, ed., Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 2, p. 697, 1948) is in error when he concludes that the Indians assumed European military tactics and strategy, making them their own.

34 Oliveros, p. 34.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[35]

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian backwoods. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless run, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[36]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians developed a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They likewise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[37] From this time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of that power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defense military power, dedicated to the eradication of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of equality. In answer to Spanish resentment the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to enter stables on foot.[38]

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence of a comparable political organization under whose genius it is formed and directed. In the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particularism in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force provoked by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century

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35 Mercurio, pp. 40-41, 47-48. There are few representations of enemy arms descriptions.

36 Núñez, pp. 42, 110-111. Cooper (p. 709) gives the impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

37 Núñez, pp. 107-110; "Informe de Juan de Xarquemada," May 1, 1611 (Gay, II, p. 239); Xarquemada to King, Jan. 19, 1611 and Jan. 18, 1612 (above, pp. 247, 259-267); Alonso García Ramón to King, 1612 (above, p. 267).

38 Núñez, p. 116. Whenever the Indians found it necessary or advisable to grant a temporary peace, the Spaniards first insisted that they turn in their horses and swore about on foot, as subject persons were expected to do. The Indians invariably turned in their exhausted, limping draft stock hidden for use after the new rebellion (above, p. 128).

101. Hüger E-5 (1946-1950) 1957
BO4 Aracaxabas BO4
Chile

10: Hüger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

481
316

492
482
415

534

Aleuts, schoolboys: 1, Boy at right making a basket (from the blades of a shrub); boy at left blowing into a completed basket to make it round. 2, Boy about to ride home at the close of a school day. (Note his carrying bag and the saddle and stirrups.) 3, Child in the school room.

[p 28(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Every boy and girl learns to ride horses bareback—boys usually at the age of 4 to 5 years; girls, when a little older. (Pl. 8, A.) Boys teach one another. An older brother generally teaches his little sister, or if there is no older brother, an older sister will do so. An 8-year-old boy was seen teaching his 4-year-old brother. Each owned the horse he was riding. The older boy said to the younger, "Hold onto the mane with both hands, just as I do." Then he set his horse into a gallop by pounding the horse's sides with his feet. The little boy's horse soon followed, also in a gallop. Both galloped around for a while in the open space near their rubs, the older boy in the lead and the younger one following. After that the older boy brought his horse alongside the younger boy's and they galloped abreast.

On another occasion a 10-year-old boy rode around on his horse, bareback, followed by the horse's foal and another foal a little older. They were in an open, grassy space near their rubs. His two little sisters, probably 5 and 7 years old, were there also. The boy on his horse lassoed a tree stump with a rope and then galloped into a position to make the rope taut. The two little girls chased the foals toward the rope. The foals galloped to the rope but not knowing how to handle it came to an abrupt stop, at which the little girls doubled up with laughter. This performance was repeated, to the great amusement of the little girls. "These foals are so stupid; they cannot learn to jump over the rope!" Then one of the girls lassoed the horse, the boy untied it, and was ready to lasso another stump when a boy, probably 10 years old, rode in on his horse, bareback also. The newcomer galloped about the space a while, then made his horse rear to show off before the older boy and the little girls. Soon the two boys rode abreast, leaning toward each other so that their heads touched, which amused the little girls.

Boys were shown in the use of the slingshot and seldom missed an aim; usually the target was a blackbird on a rock, a bird on a tree, or some similar objective. One boy shot a sea gull in flight, something he told with pride. Shooting small birds as a diversion was discouraged. No schoolboy had had the opportunity to shoot with a gun—only one family in the area owned a gun, and no one but the father was allowed to use it. Girls did not use slingshots.

HEALTH

CAUSES OF SICKNESS, CAUSES OF NO HEALTH, PREVENTIVES OF NO HEALTH

An enemy of ill health—and of death, if sickness already exists—is the ery of the diuhiduhi, a nocturnal bird. "The cries are heard by

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Chile

[p. 112 A]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

SMITHSONIAN MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS VOL. 133, NO. 10

492

Fig. 112(2)

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SO4 Araucanians SO4
Chile

241
492

313
493

[illegible]

[p. 172 (F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

233

Sheep and transportation: 1. A flock of sheep in Cabrero. 2. Transportation by oxcart (Angol). 3. Auto wheels of improved construction. 4. The car used in transporting persons across the Río Lumaco in Cabrero.

F. 172 (G)]

19: Ridgeway E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

pl. 1 and 2) or a wiki (pl. 3A, 1), a netted carrying bag (pp. 234-235); occasionally she carries things in her apron. Heavy loads, such as bark or pieces of wood used in dyeing, she carries on her back in a wiki supported by a headband; bundles of grain, either in her arms or on her head.

Men on foot carry things under the arm or slung over the shoulder (pl. 3A, 2). Small things they carry in a wiki; in the early days they also used sacks made of hides. A child is transported for a short distance in the mother's or father's arms.

Children walk to school. They were seen carrying bundles of wheat on the head (pl. 3A, 3) and wood in the arms (pl. 11, 3). Little girls transported small children on their backs (pl. 5, 2). A boy carried grass for his rabbit in his poncho (pl. 5, 1).

Long distances are generally traveled on horseback, and heavy loads are either carried by horses or are hauled by oxen. Unless the family is very poor, every man and woman and every child old enough to ride owns a riding horse. In Ainpito area three families owned no horse; in Cotherija area, two.

All Araucanians ride horseback astride—adults, in saddles; children in saddles only when old enough to ride a long distance alone. When playing around on horseback, or on errands in the area, or on short journeys, children usually ride bareback, holding onto the mane. Children too young to sit astride on a horse or to ride a horse alone on long journeys sit in the saddle in front of father or mother or behind their saddle on the horse's hindquarters.

The saddletree is made of wood. (Cf. pls. 11, 4, and 3B, 1, for saddles.) In order to give the rider security in ascending and descending steep embankments, hills, and mountainsides, the saddle has a low front and back. Pointed sheep pelts are used to cushion the saddle and over these a piece of woven cloth is placed—formerly it was a chamelote, a thickly woven, hooked and fringed cloth of wool (pl. 3A, 3). An ornamental rider uses a *champion* today; in general, these seats today are sold, to good advantage, to Chileans who use them as throws. To protect the horse's back, pieces of woolen cloth, tightly woven like ponchos, are placed under the saddle. Belts of horsehide are used to secure the saddle on the horse's back. Stirrups are attached to the saddle with leather bands that can be adjusted to the length of the rider's legs; today these are of wood decorated with carvings (pls. 11, 1; 3B); spurs are of metal; bits, if used, of wood; reins and headstalls, of leather. Blinds have never been used. Formerly all metal parts of a man's saddle gear, such as stirrups, spurs, and bits, were of silver, and all leather parts were trimmed with silver, unless he was

18: Bilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

two gear to have one so ornamented. "A poor man might have only a spur with a piece of metal, like a nail of today," said an old man. "Every man had only one spur in those days. Why should he have two? I remember those days."

Today, heavy loads, such as flour or palm, are often transported on horseback, or if too bulky, are hauled by oxen, usually on carts. If the load is transported by horse, either the man rides with the load or puts it on the back of the horse and leads the animal by a halter. Often a load is carried on a *montura de carga* (saddle for a load) which rests on the padded back of a pack horse. If the rider shares the horse, the load is divided into equal portions and put into bags woven for this purpose or into two *wilki* tied so they can be slung across the horse's back behind the rider. Sometimes the load is transported in a sack placed back of the rider. Often a rider, in addition to the load on his horse, carries a basket or *wilki* on his arm.

Fish to be taken to a Chilean market are packed tightly in a large oblong *wilki* or a large mesh bag, not unlike a net, between layers of leaves and long grass and are placed on a pack horse with an equal load on each side. The grass and leaves keep the heat of the sun from penetrating.

A heavy or clumsy load is hauled on a 2-wheeled cart by a pair of oxen. (Cf. pls. 35, *f*; 40, *A*.) The loads I saw hauled in this manner were stones, wheat, sacks of sugar, a quarter of beef, and crates of soft drinks to be sold at a fiesta. A few families own no oxen and must therefore borrow a pair for hauling. "If a man cannot afford to own a horse, he most certainly cannot own an ox—an ox costs about ten times the price of a horse, and one needs two oxen to work one."

Oxen are paired when hitched to the yoke for the first time and remain so during their life. Each is also given a name on this occasion, usually by the one who is doing the hitching. Should a new owner not like a name that has been given the animal, he must change it before the ox has become accustomed to being called by it. Names of pairs of oxen in Ahipón area were Bonito (pretty one) and Clavel (spotted, red and white, like a carnation); Pinto and Pinado (both were spotted and looked as if they had been painted); Pigure (ill-shaped one) and Paisano (fellow countryman); Andarino (running one) and Pichicindo (suffering one); Precioso (valuable one) and Lucero (morning star); Clavel and Bandera (flag). Araucanians call an ox *cumelkan* (from the Spanish *manso*) meaning quiet, meek, and beautiful—qualities, the informant said, exemplified by an ox.

Objects are of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

493

Oxcarts are all of wood, unless a man can afford wagon wheels and they are available. (Pls. 39, 3; 40, 2.) Sometimes a man makes his own oxcart; just as often he has it made by another for "one must have both intelligence and implements with which to make them." In all areas, most oxcart wheels were made of cross sections of tree trunks. A Collaripe man, who made his own cart used cross sections of laurel común. "The radius of the tree," he noted, "will tell how high the cart will stand above the ground. It is important to note this, for the middle of the cart is balanced on the wheels. One must think of those deep ruts in the trails on rainy days; everything on the cart can get muddy if the wheels are too low; and the haul can spill out if the cart is dragged along on its axle. It took me two days to make the two wheels." Each wheel was 31 inches in diameter and 6 inches wide; the hub was 8 inches in diameter. The length of his entire cart was 16 feet; its greatest width, near the back end, 4 feet. Parts were fastened together with voqui of coihüe (koiwe); no nails were used. Two long pieces of wood, to which boards forming the platform of the cart were fastened, extended forward and formed the shaft. When hitching the oxen to a cart, their horns are fastened to the shaft with leather straps; the yoke is then fastened close to the end of the shaft (pl. 39, 1). Since oxen will follow an oxcart trail, the driver usually 492
sits in the cart urging slow-moving oxen on by poking their sides with a pole. Off the trail, however, the driver leads the oxen by walking in front, holding a pole, one end of which he rests on the yoke. (Pl. 39, 2 and 3.) If he wishes the oxen to turn right, he taps the yoke on the right with the pole; if to the left, on the left of the yoke.

A log is hitched with chains or leather thongs to the yoke of a pair 483
of oxen and thus dragged to its destination between the oxen (pl. 39, 2).

Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 712-713) report three chief types of 501
water craft: the plank boat, the dugout, and the balsa. All were more or less crescent or new-moon shaped, with raised and pointed bow and stern. Plank boats were lashed together with fiber rope (of [283]
Chusquea sp.) and caulked with leaves of tinca and the inner bark of maqui. Dugouts were paddled, or driven by sails when the wind was favorable. Balsas were cigar-shaped bundles of various kinds of reeds, lashed with ropes made of voqui. Other balsas, very light and [824]
buoyant, apparently rafts proper, were made of *Puya* sp., *Libocedrus chilensis* (ciprés), or *Laurelia aromatica* (laurel común). All three types of water craft were seen during the present study, but none was crescent shaped. The plank boat with sails, called fote (probably adapted from the Spanish bote), was used in Alepúe area when fishing

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

either bartered or sold, were sheep, vegetables, wool, finely spun yarn, handwoven belts, blankets, ponchos, throws, rugs, and leaves of paico used by hotels in making a refreshing beverage. A sheep or a handwoven rug brought 50 pesos; an ox, 1,000 pesos; a 2-yard-long handwoven belt, 30 pesos. (The exchange was 16 pesos for one U. S. dollar at the time.) Money was also obtained by renting horses to tourists, and by hauling lumber and wood by means of oxen. Families also received cash or payment in kind for labor, such as farm work, herding cattle, and domestic work done for non-Araucanians in villages or on estancias. Several families migrated to Chinquilihuen each fall to gather araucaria nuts there; these sold for 50 centavos to 1 peso per kilo.

TRANSPORTATION

When informants were children, horses were already being used to transport both persons and luggage. (Cf. pp. 274-275 for manner of transporting babies and small children.) Adults used riding gear; children rode bareback. Most men, and an occasional woman, had riding gear ornamented in silver. A riding horse that had its tail trimmed off to the end of the bone was considered handsome, but in trade it was of less value than one with a complete tail. Whips made by braiding strands of leather were used by adults; children used twigs.

The introduction of the oxcart was vividly recalled by the oldest informants. Formerly all oxcart wheels were cross sections of tree trunks; today wagon wheels are also used (pl. 75, *2*).

Snowshoes, known as chigua, were used when the snow was ankle deep; if less deep the ojota (trana), the commonly worn foot covering, sufficed. Chigua were made by tying together the ends of a colihue stalk to form an oval-shaped hand and then weaving a network in it with strips of horsehide. The chigua was tied to the foot with two bands of woven material: one was brought over the instep and the other from behind the heel to the front of the ankle.

All persons, including children, crossed lakes and rivers in dugouts called waampu. The trunk of the tree known as rauli was preferred in making waampu. A spatula-shaped one in Museo Nahuel Huapi is 8½ feet long, 2 feet wide, 11 inches deep, and 1 inch thick. Men also crossed rivers or floated down streams that connected lakes on rafts called taqi. These were built on the spot and usually left on shore for anyone to use. Three or four trees, about a foot in diameter, were felled, and approximately 6 yards of the trunk of each laid side by side. Across these, close to the front ends and at right angles to them,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
5G4 Araucanians 5G4
Argentina

two poles were laid parallel to each other. Holes were then burned vertically through each pole and through the tree trunk below it, and wooden pegs pounded into the holes. If rapids had to be contended with, a third pole was usually pegged in the same manner across the middle of the raft. Rowing was done by two or three men, each using a polelike paddle known as kawewe. Before setting out in a dugout or on a raft, a prayer was said for a safe landing.

Today, transportation on land is on foot, on horseback (pl. 77, *1*), and in oxcarts; on lakes, in flat-bottomed boats and commercial steamboats. During the present study, cattle and sheep were transported on the hoof, and sheep also on horseback with a rider. Firewood was hauled on oxcarts. Vegetables were carried in baskets and sacks. The wilal, a carrying bag used by Chilean Araucanians, was not known in Argentina—informants examined one with interest and curiosity. Formerly luggage was transported in sacks of hide, and in saddlebags, on horseback.

HUNTING, TRAPPING, FISHING

Wild animals hunted for food were the guanaco; puma (pəji or trəpial); the wild boar or jabalí (kütrekütre); the Patagonian hare (mara); the hoemul (shumam); the pudú, a Patagonian deer (trulí or püdu or pəʃo); and the armadillo (kofür). Since Spanish days, the European deer and European rabbit have been added to these.

Although all the above-named animals are still extant in the Araucanian country, they are only occasionally used as food. Pumas today are killed primarily because of their raids upon sheepfolds or flocks. When one is killed, however, its meat is eaten.

Wildfowl hunted for food were the rhea, spoken of as the ostrich (choike); ibises or bandurria (rukí); the avutarda; cisne blanco or ganso; gallareta (pollolla or, popularly, pidefi); flamingo (pitrí); martineta or perdiz grande (ʃədu).

Implements used in hunting were the bolas or (Yakai), the bola perfida, lasso, and spear. The bow and arrow were not known to have been used, but arrowheads and spearheads are found throughout the country once occupied by the Araucanians. Kolupan, as a child, had searched for flint from which men made spearheads. Dogs generally assisted in all types of hunting.

A bolas or—a lariat thrown to twist about an animal's legs—consisted of either two or three balls of porous lava covered with tough horsehide and fastened together with thongs. Today balls are often made by filling ball-shaped horsehide containers with pebbles or crushed stone. In the 3-balled one (pl. 76, *4*), a ball was fastened to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

Clothing: 1. The cuirass of Mollon is clothing generally worn by Araucanian men. 2. Poncho used by both men and women; ponchos are worn by men as protection against winds. (Plate). 3. Women's clothing. This woman was about to enter the local store (behind her) to trade a sack of vegetables (at her feet) for sugar and flour. (Mollon)

[p.380(A)]

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

new and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

Present-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

In general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows (*arado de cobo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If the wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

Oxen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be

HuFarm E-9 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into oxcarts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarería* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested — most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigeful, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony.

Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold.

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "*huaso* pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes.

If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way.

In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

the meal which, at great cost to the family of the deceased, will be offered to the full complement of relatives and neighbors who arrive before noon. A thousand or more people are often present. Most of the women and young people travel on foot or in carts, but men usually arrive on horseback, dressed in their finest *huaso* clothing. There is an air of grave formality. The horsemen line up at the end of the field which contains the *llatü*, or form a semicircle around the *llatü*, if their number is large. As they line up, they are greeted by their host, a male of the deceased's immediate family (or by several family members). The host passes from one horseman to the next, extending appropriate kinship terms with the guests. Through the widest extension of these terms, even nonrelatives are accorded family status on these occasions.

No condolences are offered at this reception, although they are freely tendered later and, indeed, have already been expressed at the wake by most of those assembled. The horsemen remain grouped for most of the morning. After they have all arrived and have been welcomed by the host, they dismount and begin to mill about, eat, drink, view the corpse, speak to their friends, renew acquaintances, and so on.

The women in their turn assemble in the family escarts or on foot near the dwelling of the deceased's family, and are likewise greeted by a woman relative of the dead person. These salutations are much less formal and, largely because of the presence of children, much less solemn. Women gather apart from the men at first. As more and more wine is consumed, however, the formality begins to break down and the overall aspect of the feast becomes one of confusion.

The elders among the relatives and friends of the dead person, among whom may be visiting chiefs and elders from other reservations, congregate with the members of the deceased's immediate family, usually in the shade of a tree or in front of the house, where a banquet table has been set up to receive food and drink. The honored guests are diligently served by housemates of the dead person or by other relatives who have been asked to assist them. There they remain during most of the ceremony, except when formal orations (*weupin*) are being made at the coffin, and when the coffin is later borne to the